

of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILocal RESIDENCE⁴

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxori-local residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxori-local residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today — in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

⁴Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent solitary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

[i.e., a woman who re-established residence in her natal group — ANALYST]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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HAWKS OF THE SUN

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178 Mapuche-white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive field farming which came about with the introduction of draft oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits. 241
462 Field agriculture is man's work, for the most part, and involves the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in plots adjacent to households.

241 Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to sow very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often nil and most food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to Mapuche (at perniciously high rates of interest) by Chilean businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to lose their scarce crop reserves. It is a system presently forced upon them during the several leanest months of the year, those preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to meliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the *Caja de Crédito*, for example, is nominal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

Labor Organization

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464 The organization of labor has undergone significant change in the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs